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BOOK SECTION

CONQUEST BY TERROR

The Story of Satellite Europe

A condensation from the book

BY LELAND STOWE

TO TELL the shocking story of the world's greatest plot, no better-fitted writer than Pulitzer Prize-winner Leland Stowe could have been found. A distinguished foreign correspondent, he was successively accredited during World War II to seven foreign armies, including the Russian. He has spent considerable time in the Iron Curtain countries. Concerning his recent intensive study of them, he writes: "I am convinced that we need desperately to know precisely how the Stalinists are nailing down their conquest of Eastern Europe. The preservation of our own freedoms

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depends on such knowledge. Exactly what are the Communists' methods of control? How are they subjugating people? What is the combined strength of the satellite armed forces? How well trained are their divisions? Are they growing faster than General Eisenhower's defense forces in Western Europe? The answers to these questions add up to one of the most important unreported stories in the world."

Going after this unreported story, Stowe found that a remarkable amount of information was available from recent refugees from the Iron Curtain countries; from journalists in exile; from former career officers of the captive nations' armies; from former cabinet officials; and particularly from the staff of Radio Free Europe. The result of 18 months of such research is an unforgettably vivid portrayal of the Communist blueprint for the enslavement of all free men. ✓

CONQUEST BY TERROR

I. The World's Greatest Plot

RUSSIA's Red totalitarianism is a greater, more universal menace than Germany's Brown totalitarianism ever was at its peak. This is something we in America need desperately to understand.

The Soviets have already scored remarkable and ominous successes in Eastern Europe. They have organized vast puppet armies; harnessed the satellite economic systems solely to the build-up of Soviet power; regimented the lives of the entire population; and are well advanced toward communizing the younger generation and liquidating the upper and middle classes.

Eastern Europe, in sum, has already entered its final stages of Sovietization. In the few years since 1945 the supremely individualistic Iron Curtain countries — Poland,

Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Eastern Germany — have been unofficially annexed to the Soviet Union.

The implications of this fact are terrifying for every free society. *For the techniques by which half of Europe has been enslaved are precisely the techniques by which the Kremlin expects to enslave the remainder of the world.* They are the techniques by which Western Europeans, Americans and all other free peoples *can* be enslaved. Iron Curtain Europe is nothing less than a preview of world conquest by Communism.

The Comintern's orders of May 9, 1941, to Tito in Yugoslavia constitute a blueprint for this Communist seizure of power — a blueprint which is still good for application anywhere in the world. Here are its major points as published in 1948 in *Kommunist*, the official

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organ of the Yugoslav Communist Central Committee:

"The time has come for decisive steps toward *world revolution* [but it] *must be presented as a series of measures to achieve 'real democracy.'*"

"The Communist Party, until the seizure of power, should be careful to maintain, in the countries where the revolution is being prepared, good relations with patriotic and religious circles. Wherever necessary, representatives of the churches should be allowed to help carry through the revolution. *Their numerical strength should determine the rate at which church influence is later to be eliminated.*"

"Immediately after the seizure of power, the Central Committee will set up a new government. This shall represent the broad masses of the people and *appear democratic.*"

"Opponents of the new administration should be removed as soon as possible, but in democratic fashion — that is, by trial before a People's Court. The latter should comprise one known member of the Party and two secret sympathizers.

"Traitors to the Party are to be liquidated without trial. The death penalty is prescribed.

"The term 'class enemy' comprises the following groups: members of nationalist or religious movements, priests, officers, police, diplomats and civil servants when they refuse to side with the revolutionary forces; any individuals known to have opposed the revolution."

The organized precision, unsur-

passed duplicity, brutality and cynicism of this official chart for the internal betrayal and conquest of foreign nations speaks for itself. Every detail of it has long since been executed in each Iron Curtain country.

The Russians do not merely grab real estate. They also grab people. And this is where *you* come in.

No one is too small or insignificant, too young or too old, to be shackled and regimented or pauperized and destroyed. The Kremlin's assembly line treats people exactly as the Ford assembly line handles metal parts of automobiles. The Communist's master plot — the greatest plot the world has ever seen — is focused on everyone, everywhere. It proceeds step by step and region by region. By its all-encompassing timetable sooner or later it has to reach *you*.

Why should you or I, or any citizen of a free country, imagine that we are somehow peculiarly immune? Why should we assume that the Communist slave-state cannot finally engulf us? No Western peoples were more patriotic, more courageous or more stanchly individualistic than the East Europeans. None had greater love of freedom. Nevertheless, they were swallowed by a boa constrictor possessed of consummate guile and insatiable appetite. When the Soviet swallowed 90 million people in a flicker of time, and without firing a shot in battle, they demonstrated convincingly that they know how to eat their way around

the earth.

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The Soviets need only more time and propitious circumstances — plus the continued complacency of their prospective victims. They are exploiting time. They are experts at creating the necessary circumstances.

Their chief ally is the blind complacency of legions of free Western citizens, wrapped in delusions of geographical immunity.

II. Training the Satellite Peoples for War

THE RUSSIANS are bent on extracting the maximum possible military strength from the satellite "colonial" peoples. To this end they are militarizing a large proportion of the entire population. And this program has been stepped up sharply since Korea.

In the six years before they went to war, the Nazis did an amazingly thorough job of militarizing the not-unwilling German people. But they never succeeded in militarizing large proportions of any *foreign* population. The Russians, however, are proving remarkably efficient at this despite pronounced anti-Communist sentiment in most of the captive countries.

The beautiful rolling countryside along the highway from Pilsen to Marienbad is still a favorite region of Czech young people. On almost any week-end you see them hiking, marching or playing games in the fields. There are always groups of boys and girls in a kind of throwing contest. They are practicing with nonexploding hand grenades. That's

part of the regular program for Communist Youth members.

The seven million boys and girls now in Eastern Europe Communist youth organizations are being intensively groomed for war service. They are trained with infantry weapons, in reconnaissance, in operating clandestine radios, in military intelligence, in parachute jumping. Pre-military instructions for Young Pioneers begins early — from the age of ten, they are taught the use of firearms, serve as messengers and cyclists for military formations.

All able-bodied high school boys have several hours of military instruction per week. Satellite universities now serve as officers' training camps. At Prague University, students take 12 hours of military instruction weekly and spend two months in army camps each summer. Polish universities require from 16 to 18 hours of military instruction weekly, including field exercises on Sundays.

Most factories have their own workers' militia units — with their weapons kept on the premises. The number of militiamen varies from a few dozen in small factories up to some 5000 in Czechoslovakia's big Skoda arms plants. After work they march to nearby drill grounds several evenings each week, and are often given longer training on week-ends. Most units receive many more hours of instruction per year than does the U. S. National Guard. Workers' shock brigades — made up of carefully screened, strongly com-

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munized militiamen — actually serve as a special punitive force available to the security police in any emergency.

So-called "civilian volunteers" such as the Bulgarian "National Defense Volunteers" and the Polish "Voluntary Civilian Militia Reserve" serve to militarize another segment of the population. In 1951 the Polish organization had an enrollment of about 500,000. Members perform auxiliary police duties, and constitute a powerful reserve force.

Sports for fun have been completely abolished in Eastern Europe. No game is tolerated unless it serves both immediate political and ultimate military purposes. To this end all sports are nationalized under National Committees for Physical Culture, which set out to indoctrinate members "in the spirit of unswerving faith in the victory of the International proletariat and Socialism throughout the whole world."

When the Reds seized power in Czechoslovakia its world-famous Sokol gymnastic societies possessed an astonishingly large membership in proportion to the country's small population — about 1,500,000 persons. The Sokol has been nationalized, its leadership communized, its entire membership exposed to unceasing Party propaganda.

Military courses and creation of parachutist units are universal in the nationalized sports systems. Hungary's "Ready to Work and Fight" (MHK), established on Soviet lines in 1949, was operating 16

paratroopers' camps near Budapest alone by the following summer. Four-months courses were given, averaging between six and eight hours per week. Factory workers were induced to sign up through rewards of extra food rations. In 1951 even this program was greatly expanded. Membership was made compulsory for students and trade unionists, and Hungarian officials declared that the existing membership of 400,000 should be doubled by spring, 1952 — a remarkably high goal in a population of 9,500,000. Through such dead-earnest measures the Soviets within a few years will have built up several millions of partly trained reservists — in the name of sport.

Hundreds of thousands of Eastern Europe's women are being trained to perform as many vital wartime functions as did Soviet women in World War II. It's as easy to militarize women in any Communist state as it is the youth, the workers or sportsmen. The only existing organizations for women are Party monopolies called the "Union of Democratic Women," the "League of Polish Women," and the like. Their total membership approached seven million as of this January. By conservative estimate, 25 to 35 percent are receiving some form of para-military training.

Girls and women are trained for field brigades, communications, tractor-station service, and for guerrilla operations; as ambulance drivers, locomotive engineers, concentra-

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tion-camp supervisors, military police, etc. Full companies of women soldiers, marching with rifles, have become a common sight in Hungary. In Gdansk, Poland, women Harbor Guards practice with sub-machine guns and at grenade throwing three times a week.

From the most careful estimates available, cross-checked as far as possible, it appears that approximately 14,400,000 persons out of satellite Europe's 90 million people are now either under arms or undergoing some degree of military training. In another few years, eight or ten million civilians — men, women and youth — will be intensively militarized to wage war in behalf of Communist conquest.

III. Mobilization Under Wraps

THE KOREAN WAR pushed the button for Moscow's all-out expansion of the satellites' armies. This intensive expansion, hardly perceived in the West, has probably been the least visible mass mobilization in history. I did not conceive of its magnitude until I had sifted through thousands of reports smuggled out of the Curtain countries. Immediately after the Korean invasion, reserve officers were called up, new classes conscripted, parts of classes due to be released retained, and periods of service lengthened. In Bulgaria the length of service was doubled, and is now three years. Many new satellite divisions have resulted.

Data based upon hundreds of re-

ports from the underground and from East European career officers in exile indicate that the regular armed forces of the puppet states now totals nearly 1,500,000 men in more than 60 Soviet-type divisions, better than half fairly well armed and trained, and nearly a fourth motorized or partially armored. They almost counterbalance the NATO's proposed Army of Western Europe for which General Eisenhower has been painfully laying the ground work.

Soviet success in bringing the satellite armies so quickly to their present effectiveness has been achieved by characteristic Russian methods. That is, by purging regular career officers and replacing them with reliable Communists, indoctrinated former prisoners, or, in the higher echelons, with actual Soviet commanders.

The Czech underground reports: "Soviet officers appear in our garisons in increasing numbers. Our army will soon be entirely controlled by Russians." At least 5000 Soviet officers now serve in the Polish Army; some 2000 in Hungary's; nearly 3000 in Bulgaria's. Satellite troops are increasingly required to learn Russian military terminology. Their uniforms have been changed to Soviet-type tunic blouses, with almost identical epauletts and insignia for officers. Basic training manuals are virtual translations from Soviet manuals. Divisions are organized along Soviet lines and are drilled in Soviet techniques.

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They could be incorporated into the Soviet Army at any time.

Thousands of satellite officers are now attending Soviet military academies under a rotation system. In 1951 some 2000 Poles were sent to Russia, 1500 Bulgarians (making a reputed total of 9000 Bulgarians so dispatched), and 4500 Czechs. Eastern Germany's "Alert Units" are now being trained by 150 German officer-graduates of Russian academies. Three thousand young Rumanians, trained in Russia for two years, returned in June 1951 to form "the backbone of the new Rumanian Army." By 1953 or 1954 the puppet-state armies may be strengthened by more than 20,000 such Red Army graduates.

Every effort is made to indoctrinate the soldiers politically. During their first year's service, recruits get no leave, lest their embittered families inflame their natural antagonism to Communism. They are subjected to Marxist lectures, propaganda films, obligatory subscriptions to Communist newspapers, group readings of party publications. The Polish Army's daily shriek, *The Soldier of Freedom*, demands ceaseless vigilance of every man in uniform "to hasten the extermination of the imperialists."

Today's satellite soldiers are far from "politically reliable" — particularly the fiercely patriotic Poles — and hundreds of them have deserted and fled into Yugoslavia or Western Germany. But an exiled Hungarian leader warns: "By 1954,

age groups will enter the army who have had nearly ten years of Communist indoctrination. By then I estimate that Hungary's army will be willing to fight and die for the Kremlin."

No one this side of the Curtain knows exactly how effective the satellite armies are for combat purposes today. Western military specialists are convinced that the "hard core" satellite divisions rank below the average Soviet divisions, or the best Western divisions, in equipment and training. Yet former career officers from Eastern Europe insist that they could be counted on to fight well for the Russians, under certain conditions. Hitler proved decisively what the conqueror's bandwagon means. Many Rumanian divisions fought hard and well in Russia — so long as the Germans were winning. If the Soviet Army were to drive triumphantly across Europe, satellite divisions might fight very well alongside the Russians. But should Soviet forces meet reverses, the support of many puppet troops would certainly dissolve.

The less reliable satellite units might be "sandwiched" between Red Army divisions, however, in such positions that — with Red troops in their rear — it would be difficult not to fight. Or they could be used as occupation forces where it would be impossible to quit without fighting their way home. Polish exiles, for instance, insist that a large portion of their country's "captive army" will be sent to mid-

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Asia or the Far East in event of war. Half a million of them, garrisoned there, would release as many Soviet soldiers for combat elsewhere. This is an old czarist Russian custom.

Underground reports confirm graphically that these satellite armies have received large shipments of Russian tanks, artillery, mortars and other material. From Bulgaria (October 1950): "Enormous quantities of Soviet arms have arrived over the past several months." From Poland (in December): "During the past week 400 T-34 tanks were shipped to Czechoslovakia; 800 more to Hungary and Rumania. More tank shipments are being directed south and west." From Hungary (in April): "War material for complete equipment of ten divisions has arrived from Russia."

Russia obviously now possesses such huge amounts of tanks, artillery and other arms as to be able to push forward a program for the satellite armies.

From Poland down to Bulgaria the Russians have also established scores of supply bases to support heavy Soviet re-enforcements at any time. Huge shipments of arms, spare parts, trucks, uniforms, food and fuel are delivered to strategically placed depots strongly guarded by security troops, commanded by Soviet officers.

Since Korea the Russians have constructed scores of new and modernized air bases behind the entire length of the Iron Curtain. They are perilously ahead of our Western coalition in this respect. In any early

conflict they might be able to put ten or 20 Red planes, predominantly jets, into the air for every Western plane -- for lack of Western facilities as well as combat planes. Satellite pilots -- their fuel supply strictly limited so they cannot fly West -- are being trained in considerable numbers. Satellite air forces have already received at least several hundred Russian jets and medium-sized bombers.

One must consult a map to see how profoundly the Russians have transformed the strategic communications of Eastern Europe since World War II. By constantly expanding rail and highway networks they have linked Eastern Europe to Russia more tightly than ever before. The key to this momentous communications offensive is Trans-Carpathia, which Moscow forced the Czechs to cede to the U.S.S.R. in 1945.

Trans-Carpathia gave the Soviet Army a bridgehead dominating all Central Europe. The three rail lines that run through it have all been changed to Russian broad-gauge tracks, and broad-gauge tracks have been extended into all satellite countries, toward the heart of Europe. (See map.) *The Soviets will soon be able to deliver both arms and troops, on Russian trains, directly from the interior of the Soviet Union across Rumania, across Poland, into Czechoslovakia, into Bulgaria, even deep into Hungary -- within a short distance of Yugoslavia's frontiers.* Hitler never undertook anything like it.

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In addition to the railroads, there are dozens of military highways completed, or nearly so. All roads from the Soviet into Hungary's Miskolc region have been rebuilt, all arteries toward Yugoslavia modernized. The Miskolc network is said to have occupied 10,000 slave laborers many months. Six new military roads have been constructed in Bulgaria leading to the Yugoslav, Greek and Turkish frontiers. Obviously the new map of Red-ruled Europe is predominantly and increasingly a war-purpose map.

Thus we see that, while Eisen-

hower has been obliged to launch Western Europe's military integration at a snail's pace, by joint participation, joint discussion and compromise, Moscow's armies of Eastern Europe are being integrated by iron-fisted compulsion.

IV. How the Communist Secret Police Control Everybody

IN ADDITION to the regular satellite armies, Moscow can draw on the satellite police armies of approximately two million men. These police organizations, definitely *armies* in structure, training and equip-

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ment, are of five major types in every satellite country:

(1) *The Security Police*, identical with the Soviet's dreaded MVD; (2) *Internal Security Corps*, uniformed, strongly armed adjuncts; (3) *The People's Militia*, somewhat parallel to state police; (4) *Railroad Guards*, who protect rail transportation; and (5) *Frontier Guards*, heavily armed units who keep all borders sealed.

The Stalinist police system was Moscow's first, top-priority export into the Iron Curtain countries. From the beginning, its methodical expansion was directed by top-level MVD officers sent from Russia. In every puppet state the Communists demanded and got one of their Party leaders as Minister of the Interior — the department which controls all police formations. Behind this Communist minister, and at first hidden from the public, Russian MVD officers really ran the country's police system. It was a well-masked inside job until the Communist regimes became solidly entrenched. Then the MVDs "occupation" of Eastern Europe's police organizations began in earnest. Today it is the most thorough and most barbaric police system the world has ever known. It seems safe to estimate that there is now approximately one police agent for every nine inhabitants in the Iron Curtain area.

Besides the five huge police armies already mentioned there are numerous special control agencies such as

the much feared Czech DOZ (Officers for Defense of the Nation) which provides an extreme security control over the army. All puppet states also have "economic police" who guard factories against sabotage and also serve as raiders and robbers — they invade the homes of likely prospects, seizing gold, silver, jewelry and similar private property. Since it is now a crime to possess such capitalistic valuables — even gold fillings in teeth are forbidden by law — they have seized possessions worth millions of dollars in this manner.

Beyond these uniformed police organizations there is an army of plain-clothes police, and behind them again a legion of paid and unpaid informers. Throughout satellite Europe every waiter, for instance, is compelled to give the secret police nightly reports of "useful information," or lose his job. Czech customs inspectors were told in July 1950 that they must show their loyalty by denouncing "at least one enemy of the state each month." By January 1951, under the slogan of "more denunciations to help world peace," each customs official was ordered to boost his denunciations to three persons per month. Failure to conform would be considered "lack of vigilance." Customs inspectors also have to eat.

Hotel employes, apartment-house managers, janitors, mailmen, railroad conductors and countless others are similarly trapped. Many informers are youthful Communists and misled children, acting from

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fanatical motivations. Others are the natural-born bootlickers, opportunists and traitors who would betray anyone for a little cash or a slight privilege. The Communist state breeds informers like maggots in a mass-burial pit.

A ragged old woman, begging on a Bucharest streetcar, poured out her woes to a young army officer. As he handed her some money he remarked sympathetically: "Never mind. Things will change." The beggar screamed for the police at the next stop and the officer was arrested — for subversive talk against the regime.

The Red regimes *deliberately propagate fear and terror* in this fashion to create a universal psychology of *permanent menace*. In every walk of life each individual is constantly subjected to reminders of what one false step may mean. No person, not even the blindly conforming Party member, can be certain of his status. The police and the Party must know everything about everybody. Everyone is made to feel that he is watched and followed wherever he goes, whatever he says.

Underground reports show that a dozen or more secret-police schools now function in the Iron Curtain countries. Like all Soviet institutions, they are highly specialized. At Repy, near Prague, MVD experts instruct attractive young Communist women to serve as police spies — an aspect of intelligence work which the Soviets emphasize everywhere. Sofia has a school for

factory spies. At Debrecen, Hungary's AVO conducts a school for police terror-brigades.

The great majority of security-police recruits are young Communists between 20 and 30 with reliable Party records. Candidates for careers as prison guards and in slave-labor camps are the toughest, most fanatical young Communists, usually those of lowest intelligence — they qualify most quickly for the beating and torturing of prisoners.

The inducements to join this most privileged service are exceptional. The security police are much better paid in all grades than any other state employees in Red-ruled Europe. High-ranking officers, like other Party leaders, possess handsome private houses or luxurious country estates confiscated from the wealthiest of "class enemies." But some of the more notorious extracurricular privileges, such as drunken public brawling and flagrant coercion of attractive young women, are now considerably restricted, particularly among lesser officers.

An order was issued by the chief of the Czech secret police in April 1951, for instance, prohibiting STB men from having mistresses. The risk of their whispering boudoir confidences had become too great. Severe disciplinary measures were also taken against excessive drinking. A Czech STB agent now faces expulsion if he separates from his wife. The leaders of history's greatest criminal organization actually issue solemn pronouncements that the

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Party's "high moral standards" must be upheld!

Perhaps the most cynical joke of all concerns the puppet states' Communist big brass. Most of them, of course, are "Muscovites" — the popular term for domestic Reds trained in Moscow. But, despite their favorable status, satellite premiers, cabinet ministers and army generals are surrounded by representatives of the MVD, literal prisoners of the Russians on the pretext of "security precautions." This is the final triumph of the Soviet slave-state system.

Matyas Rakosi, Premier of Hungary, for example, though supposed to hold a solid position with Moscow, has his regular secretaries replaced overnight by unknown "private secretaries" who stick to him like shadows. Before Rakosi leaves Party headquarters in Budapest an alarm bell rings; all traffic is stopped for five minutes, both in the halls and for 100 yards on Akademia Street outside; then the titular Communist ruler of Hungary emerges under armed guard. The guards, most of them Soviet citizens, accompany him everywhere. While ostensibly protecting Hungary's Communist leader, they also know everyone he sees, everything he does. In private, Hungarians smile wryly — there's a certain satisfaction in knowing that the Red betrayer of his country may be in a worse spot than they are.

Thus, with some two million men in their secret police and related internal armies, the Communist

regimes have at least two percent of Eastern Europe's population enrolled in security units which are also powerful military forces. Their power of mass enslavement is fearsome. When millions of individual spies and informers serve such large and ruthless police forces, their capacity for intimidation can scarcely be exaggerated.

V. Crime Legalized

THE CYNICAL perversion of all legal mechanism, in the satellite countries, has been carried to almost inconceivable extremes. The Red regimes issue decrees the way a road-mixer pours out cement. Their U.S.S.R.-type criminal codes have swept away the most elementary legal protections of the individual. Siberia hangs over the head of every worker.

Any act which can be construed as designed even to "*weaken* the authority of the government or the proletarian revolution" is deemed "counterrevolutionary." Failure to do your work to a commissar's satisfaction, although it may be due solely to ill health, can thus condemn you to slave labor. Deprivation of liberty "for a period up to ten years" awaits any transport worker whose faulty work "*has led or might have led to the damage of rolling stock, the dispatch of trains or vessels off schedule.*" If the worker accidentally drops a monkey wrench, and the consequences cause fairly serious damage, he can be convicted of plotting against the State — and

be executed.

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Death penalties are also imposed for alleged sabotage "when committed *against another state* where the power is held by the working class, *or against the working class of another country.*" A patriotic Rumanian can be sent to the firing squad on grounds of having sabotaged the "economic prosperity" of Soviet Russia, or Poland, or Albania. If a worker in a Transylvanian meat-packing plant makes a mistake, he may be shot — for undermining the economic stability of the working class in Soviet Uzbekistan.

In Poland, under a decree concerning "cases of delinquency tending to harm the State," any suspected delinquent who "*may in the future* commit a misdemeanor" is liable to sentence. This means you can be jailed for something the secret police may suspect you *might* do sometime next year. And any employed person in Rumania today may be sentenced to 12 years on such all-inclusive grounds as "lack of conformity to orders concerning achievement of the State Plan." In a Communist state that covers virtually everybody connected with the manufacture, distribution or consumption of virtually everything.

Communist laws concern themselves with the most astonishing regimentation of the citizen's daily life. Consider Bulgaria's Conscription Act. As a Bulgarian owner of a motorcar, you must keep it in condition for military requisitioning at any time. You must immediately

report "every change of permanent garaging." You must get an authorization from the Defense Ministry before you can make any radical changes in your vehicle's construction — also before you can sell an old jalopy for junk. You face jail terms for violation of any of these regulations.

As a Bulgarian farmer, you are under similar requirements regarding your horse or your mule. You must obtain a certificate of ownership for every animal you possess; must have its condition inspected twice a year; must deliver it — and your car, if you have one — in time of mobilization at your own expense. If you avoid delivery of car, truck, horse or mule, you will be sent to jail or to slave labor — for five years. The Communist government decides how much it will pay you for what it requisitions.

Iron-bound regulations restrict travel everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. To visit a cousin in another part of your country you must obtain a police visa, just as you might require a visa to visit a foreign country. Suppose you are a Hungarian, and you need to take a train to a place more than 60 miles away. When you buy your railroad ticket you must present a stamped permit issued by your employer. In this permit you state the purpose of your trip — "to visit my cousin, Maria P——, who is very ill." When you get off the train in Maria's home town you go to the railroad ticket office to have the exact hour of your

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arrival stamped on your permit, and signed. Then, within six hours of your arrival, you are obliged to report to the local police. . . . Oh, yes — you should, of course, have applied for your travel permit six days before your departure. If Maria didn't get seriously ill that much in advance, it's too bad.

Suppose, as a citizen of any satellite state, you should exclaim in an unguarded moment: "What can you expect while these people run the country?" That is a subversive attack on the "people's democracy." If reported, you are certain to spend several years at slave labor or in jail. In addition, all of your property may be confiscated. If you are at all suspect in the eyes of the police or some minor Party official, you are certain to lose your house, your furniture, everything you own. Confiscation of property is decreed for so many offenses that a simple denunciation to the police does the trick — or perhaps the secret police themselves merely like the looks of your house, and mark you down for deportation.

A sailor from a ship which commutes between the Czech and German shores of Lake Elbe was eating in a Lovisice restaurant. "Are things really as bad in Western Germany as the papers say?" asked someone at the next table. The sailor replied, quite honestly, that you could buy almost anything at reasonable prices in the West German shops. He was arrested before he had finished his dinner and sentenced to

six months for "spreading false rumors."

That the judges and magistrates who interpret the endless decrees laws have been given the sketchiest possible legal training, and possess only a smattering of law, is of no consequence. They know what they are to do. "The judge must interpret the law in favor of the Party that belongs to the proletarian class," soberly states the Bucharest regime's law journal, *New Justice*. All they need to do is to use the law as a weapon of class vengeance; to serve the interests of the Communist Party and to terrorize, jail or liquidate any who may oppose it. Communists mean by "law" what they mean by "democracy," and "peace" — exactly the opposite from what any civilized person knows the meaning to be. The purpose of Communist law is to rule through terror by perpetuating terror.

VI. Food as a Weapon

BEFORE World War II the Danube basin produced the greatest food surpluses of the entire Continent. Europe's traditional bread basket for centuries, its people have almost never lacked food in peacetime. Even most poor people, hit hard by inflation, could still eat adequately. Yet by 1951 the inhabitants of these lands of agricultural abundance had become Europe's hungriest peoples.

The main cause is Kremlin policy — food exports to Soviet Russia. While millions of Eastern Europeans are on severe bread rations, and go

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for weeks without meat, their grain, beef, pork and poultry are delivered to Russia in vast quantities. Rumania's largest meat-packing plants have worked exclusively on exports to the U.S.S.R. for several years. Simultaneously the Russians are stockpiling great amounts of grain and food in the puppet states for military reserves.

This induced shortage fits well with Soviet plans for the captive countries, for it leaves each individual at the mercy of the state for every forkful of food. In Communist strategy, *food and hunger are political weapons*. Their use in practice is summed up by: "Stuff the comrades, feed the fellow travelers — and starve the class enemies." The right to eat is entirely a Party monopoly.

The Communists achieve this by creating separate classes of citizens through their ration-card system. At the top are the Communist elite, who enjoy the maximum of the conquerors' traditional wining-and-dining privileges as well as special withdrawal prerogatives at huge warehouses filled with goods confiscated from "enemies of the people." In the middle are the workers, and below them, on further reduced rations, are old people, etc. Below these are at least some eight to ten millions who are marked for systematic liquidation and barred from all ration privileges. By the Rumanian regime's decree of 1951, for example, all private businessmen, self-employed persons, landowners and

retired persons, and their families, are deprived of ration cards.

How can these people exist? They can find limited amounts of food in state shops — at prices six to ten times higher than are charged for the same products at the official ration stores. In 1951 typical Rumanian prices for nonrationed food were \$2 a quart for milk, \$6.65 a dozen for eggs, \$8 a pound for sausage. Outlawed citizens spend the last of their savings to buy food at such prices, then sell their most valuable possessions, one after the other — as the Communists intended they should be compelled to do. Recent exiles bring pitiful reports of how this enforced pauperization of "class enemies" proceeds:

"Every day you see people on the streets carrying rugs, pictures, records, used clothing, almost anything they can sell to buy food. They are always hungry; so homes are gradually stripped of everything. With spring some will sell their winter coats, and they know they can never afford another." (As an example of clothing prices, in Rumania unrationed suit cloth costs \$200 a yard.)

The number of East Europeans who have already ended their lives from sheer despair will never be known. Inadvertently, however, Hungary's National Council has indicated how shockingly large self-inflicted deaths have become in the Red-captive nations. Its official figures show that between January 1 and November 1, 1950, suicides in

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Hungary alone totaled 21,794 persons.

Soviet Communism is unique both in employing hunger as an instrument of political domination and in using food rationing for class destruction. This method has obvious advantages over the cruder barbarism of the Nazis' incineration chambers. When people shrivel gradually into corpses, there is nothing dramatic about it: no mass graves; no executioners; scarcely a ripple of ugly publicity. Hundreds of thousands—a little later, millions—can be killed off virtually unperceived. Doctors soberly write down the causes as "tuberculosis," "heart trouble"—any number of highly respectable diseases, all devastatingly prevalent throughout satellite Europe today. It is the least embarrassing method of mass extermination ever devised.

Why is the Kremlin bent on liquidating millions of upper- and middle-class Eastern Europeans? It is because they are the only well-educated people who exist in large numbers in the puppet states. As such they have "capitalistic standards." They were used to a life that—by comparison with Soviet Russia—was incredibly good. They have independent minds, values of their own, and bases of comparison. That makes them a permanent threat, incorrigible. Their tastes can never be thoroughly vulgarized, their thoughts reliably perverted. Unless they are destroyed, Moscow can never feel sure of its grip on Eastern

Europe.

VII. The Farmers Fight Back

IN ALL Eastern Europe the Kremlin's most dangerous antagonists are the peasants. Their resistance to the Communist program is deep-rooted, persistent, and increasing yearly in intensity.

Why do the Soviets insist upon forcing Eastern Europe's peasants into collective farms? Lenin explained it very frankly. Peasants, he said, are "the last capitalistic class." Although depriving them of their land is "the most difficult part of the class struggle, it is also the most important" because Communist "preservation of power" is impossible without complete conquest of the peasants. Accordingly, the Kremlin's goal is to reduce captive Europe's peasants to state-chained proletarians.

The Communists began their campaign in 1945 by breaking up and redistributing the vast feudal estates, a move which won them powerful initial support from the peasants. But the plots doled out were designedly so small that the new owners could not possibly make ends meet. After a few hopeless seasons they could be much more easily coerced into putting their land and livestock into the pooled "kitty" of a collective farm. Bankruptcy—or join up! This is one way the Communists "get" the small farmer.

There are others. Mobile units tour the rural regions with films showing the supposed "efficiency and happy life" in Russia's collec-

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tives. Large delegations of the most susceptible peasants — anywhere from 50 to 200 — are dispatched to Russia to study “the great and successful Soviet models.” They are wined and dined like heroes; taken to well-prepared show places. When they come home they are sent on nation-wide recruiting missions.

Production quotas are set ridiculously high for the independent peasant, based on a grossly exaggerated “fertility rating” of the land. Taxes in arrears for several years are frequently trumped up; any farmer who does fairly well invites big increased levies the following year. In Poland taxes were boosted 150 percent in one year, then jumped higher still the next season. Meanwhile, the prices which the state paid for farm products were lowered by 50 percent. That wrings out the juice of rugged individualism very fast. Top that with late delivery of inferior seed, and the “independent” is squeezed bankrupt and into a collective in one or two seasons.

By September 1951 the Curtain regimes claimed 18,267 collectives. But inside or outside the kolkhozes the vast majority of Eastern Europe's tillers of the soil resist the Communist regime by every means in their power. For under the Communists the farmers exist under non-stop, year-after-year compulsions which deprive them of the right to call their souls their own. Every peasant is given a precise and often absurd production quota to fill. By government decree, for example, the

Hungarian farmer's hens must lay 20 more eggs apiece in 1952 than they did in 1950, and his pigs must gain 40 pounds in weight for every 220 pounds of fodder fed to them. He is also told exactly how much of everything he must turn over to state storehouses at *State-fixed prices* far lower than those on the free market.

What can the farmer do? His crops and livestock are checked and rechecked. His delivery stations are guarded by armed militiamen. If he hides some of his wheat or a few slabs of pork he can be sent to slave labor — and this often happens. If he is rebellious, a Red policeman can always “discover” a forbidden shotgun on his premises — a capital offense.

But peasant resistance takes many forms. They fight back with every means provided by their peculiar and exceptional circumstances. Rather than be robbed by State-fixed prices, they secretly slaughter much of their livestock. They deliberately destroy good breeding stock, overwork draft animals, get rid of poultry, regardless of extreme punishments. Every summer “accidental fires” destroy thousands of acres of grain; many peasants have been hanged for setting them, but there are always more fires. Rumanian peasants, usually regarded as Eastern Europe's least belligerent, destroyed an entire crop by fire in Prahova district commune; peasants of the Vlasca district killed the mayor and several militiamen; in

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Tulca and Dragoesti many militiamen were killed in revolts in which many farmers lost their lives and hundreds of others were arrested.

Aside from death itself, the Red regime's most terrible punishment for farmers is mass deportation. Peasant families are permanently uprooted from their cherished home soil, and sent by trainloads into the doom of slave labor. According to underground information, 40,000 Bulgarian peasants met this fate during 1951 alone — to beat the "last capitalists" into submission.

The peasants' fight for independence has no foreseeable end. If the Stalinists succeed in destroying most of them, we must recognize that Eastern Europe would be very close to being permanently sovietized, and the possibilities for large-scale underground resistance would be most seriously reduced.

One fact must clearly be understood. The greatest horror and most brutal destruction of human lives, by deliberate Kremlin planning, lies somewhere ahead. Millions more of Eastern Europe's independent peasants are marked for annihilation. Matyas Rakosi, Hungary's Big Red, declared in February 1951: "The greatest obstacle to our development is the fact that with one foot we are standing on Socialist ground, and with the other foot on *several hundreds of thousands of private farms.*" He branded all Hungarian middle peasants and kulaks — a third of Hungary's population — as "sworn enemies" to be dealt with in due

time. The Stalinists apply the same sweeping definition in every other Curtain country.

By conservative estimate a minimum of 20 percent of Eastern Europe's population, or some 18 million men, women and children, belong in this "farm enemy" category. *The Communists plan to liquidate, economically or physically, most of these 18 million farm people throughout Eastern Europe — in stages, but absolutely.*

Why? Because the peasants have remained the one source of serious resistance in the Soviet Union after more than 30 years of Soviet rule, and Eastern Europe's peasant farmers are infinitely more dangerous than Russia's ever were. Their National Peasant parties had established notable, staunchly democratic records. They were the chief defenders of free and representative government. They remain fiercely, inextinguishably loyal to democratic self-government, and to the inalienable rights of free, independent citizens, the Kremlin's deadliest and most enduring foe inside captive

Somehow and somewhere they will fight on as long as they live. There are no more uncompromising defenders of the dignity of man anywhere in the world. The Kremlin can never completely control them except by wiping them out.

VIII. Fifteen Million Workers in Shackles

ONE DAY late in December 1950, when the menacing presence of fire

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damp was discovered in the Hungarian coal mines at Tatabanya, the chief engineer ordered the pits evacuated. But local Communist officials refused to take his word that the mine was dangerous. They informed Budapest that the engineer was sabotaging production. The Ministry of Mines ordered the pit crews back to work. When they refused, more than 200 were arrested, and their vegetable plots also confiscated. The remaining miners still boycotted the contaminated pits.

The Red regime then ordered hundreds of young Communists, members of the DISZ youth organization, to work the mine. The young men went down, and for two hours nothing happened. Then came a terrific explosion. Eventually more than 400 bodies were removed from the pits. No word of this disaster appeared in the Hungarian press. Radio Free Europe received a reliable account of it five months later, via the underground.

Save for those in slave-labor camps, Eastern Europe's miners are the most brutally exploited of all workers under Stalinist domination. They are everywhere forced to work with antiquated equipment under notoriously unsafe conditions. Fatal accidents are frequent. A few years ago most of the miners were enthusiastic Communists; now they are so openly hostile that Communist control officers rarely dare to go into the pits.

Nor are the miners alone in their rebellious attitude. On July 29, 1951,

for example, despite hopeless odds, nearly 6000 desperate Polish workers rallied in a central square of Vilna to protest a new and oppressive wage system. Security police and army units attacked the demonstrators from all sides, beat and arrested several hundred. Next day firing squads executed 40 of the leaders a warning from the self-proclaimed "defenders of the proletariat."

"Labor discipline" is an obsession of the Red bosses. The laws of all satellite regimes stipulate that workers "have no right to dissolve the contract of work" and impose drastic penalties for absenteeism. Yet Eastern Europe's workers fight back with every ruse and obstructive practice at their command from slow-downs and shoddy work to occasional outright sabotage, and absenteeism remains a major problem. Despite the severe penalties, many do quit their assigned jobs, and labor "migration" remains extremely high. In the third quarter of 1951 Hungary's labor turnover (admitted by the regime) was 46.2 percent in building industries, 38 percent in mining.

The Communist wage scale throughout satellite Europe ranges between \$12 and \$25 per week. With inflated prices, at least a month's wages are required to buy a pair of shoes. Moreover, the state constantly raids the worker's pay envelope before it reaches him. He is compelled to accept repeated deductions (known as "voluntary contributions") as proof that he is a stanch

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proletarian devoted to "the rule of the working class." For this privilege he loses as much as ten to 15 percent of his earnings.

The Communists' feverish expansion of satellite heavy industry (principally war industry) has created a tremendous labor shortage. But the Red government's exploitation of workers is so widely known that, since 1950, satellite authorities have had to stage what amount to nationwide man-hunts and woman-hunts, combing cities and rural areas for workers. The secret police raid restaurants and stop people in the streets. Anyone whose papers do not indicate satisfactory working or political status is dispatched to whatever job the party may select.

In sum, what has Communist rule brought to the worker in satellite Europe? It has deprived him of the right of free assembly, of his right to bargain collectively; of his free vote in union elections; of the right to quit one job and seek another, of the right to strike. The Red State conscripts him, selects his job, sets his wages. It registers him with an individual "work book" without which he cannot quit or get a job. These are the conditions of working men and women in what the Kremlin describes as "the Workers' and People's Republics" of Eastern Europe.

IX. Slave Labor

THE extraordinary scale on which the Kremlin has exported its highly perfected slave-labor system, in

which starvation is universal and torture a commonplace, is hardly suspected by the free peoples of the West. The crimes of the Red terror, like those of the Nazis, are so inhuman that we can scarcely grasp their enormity. But their true dimensions are attested by numerous victims who have somehow survived and escaped.

By pooling this testimony, it becomes evident that more than one million people are now confined in the prisons and slave camps of Eastern Europe. More than 50 major camps are known to exist in Poland, with a slave-labor population of over 400,000, and more than 40 in Rumania with a minimum population of 300,000. Between 20 and 30 major camps have been identified in both Hungary and Bulgaria. And dozens of new ones are being built every year throughout captive Europe.

In Eastern Germany, the Russians and local Communists continue to operate many of the most notorious Nazi death-camps. Early in 1951, a Pole released from Buchenwald — the same Buchenwald whose barbarities, it was fervently hoped, would end forever with World War II — reported that 10,000 persons, nearly 3000 of them women, were still held there.

Production and construction by forced labor is one of Soviet Russia's biggest businesses — a cartel for human exploitation. It is also an indispensable instrument of Soviet conquest, since it is an important

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means of getting rid of opposition. It has become an integral part of the Sovietization of all Eastern Europe. In fact, in January 1951 Moscow established a Central Labor Office in Prague, to which each puppet government was instructed to report the total number of prisoners available — thus launching an all-satellite slave-labor pool.

Puppet-state prisoners are confined in camps indetical to those in Soviet Russia — heavily guarded, encircled by barbed- and electric-wire obstacles, surrounded by watch-towers with searchlights blazing all night. Hunger is used to compel prisoners to work to the limits of their endurance. Death rates are extremely high. Under MVD controls, hundreds of thousands of East Europeans now construct five-year-plan projects designed to increase the military power of Russia. Slave workers have already built army barracks, bases and airfields; coastal fortifications along the Baltic and the Black Sea; underground depots for arms, food and fuel and much else.

Each Communist country has large-scale projects which need slave labor for their execution. Hungary's gigantic ironworks at Dunapentele, where an industrial complex comparable to Pittsburgh's is being created, requires many thousands, as do similar projects in Eastern Slovakia, Czechoslovakia and Poland. More than 10,000 slave prisoners work in Bulgaria's coal mines; another 5000 on dams for the Tundzha and Rositza Rivers. A re-

ported 15,000 Rumanian prisoners are slaving on the big Bistritza Valley hydroelectric project. Still another 3500 work on the Argesh Canal project. Notable slave-construction programs also include Bulgaria's Christo Botev line fortifications, the Tulcea and Sozopol submarine bases. Probably the greatest armies of slave laborers of all are mobilized in the many Czech and Polish uranium mines, where as many as 150,000 have been reported by underground sources.

In addition, one or two trainloads of particularly hated satellite political prisoners are dispatched every week to the Soviet Union's own camps, where few survive. In the single month of March 1951 some 17,000 Hungarians were gathered in Uzhorod for deportation to Russia — their true destination being death.

What the free world must somehow comprehend is this: In Eastern Europe the Communists hold in their power *several million candidates for slavery*. Until vast numbers of farmers, middle-class citizens and resentful workers have been put behind barbed wire, the men in the Kremlin will fear that Communist control of the "colonial" states remains inadequate. Eastern Europe can only be rendered "secure," by Soviet definition, through expansion of the slave-labor system. It is therefore conceivable that the Reds' slaves in captive Europe may total two or three million persons by 1954.

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In reality, the establishment of a vast Communist slave-labor system throughout Eastern Europe is a warning to every citizen in the free world, most of all to those in the Atlantic community. Without forcing large proportions of any country's population into slave labor, the Communists cannot hold power. It is an irreplaceable means of destroying "class enemies." And nowhere in the world are there so many potential "class enemies," so many candidates for future Communist slave camps as in the advanced, predominantly middle-class populations of the Western democracies. That is a fact which it might be realistic to keep in mind. Eastern Europe is only a first step, the prelude.

But how far would the Stalinists dare to go with their ruthless enslavement policy? They are already answering that question in every Red-ruled nation in Eastern Europe. The Great Slave-Maker Stalin himself gave the most cynically frank answer possible when, in the early postwar period, he spoke glowingly to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, then a leader in the Polish Government, about a great Slav empire stretching from the Pacific shores of Siberia to the mid-European fringes of the Iron Curtain. Mr. Mikolajczyk pointed out that the Hungarians, after all, are not Slavs and would resist being swallowed up by every means in their power.

Stalin replied with calm, arctic assurance: "*The Hungarian problem is only a matter of boxcars.*"

When the rulers of the Kremlin are prepared to deport millions of Hungarians in sealed boxcars, why should we imagine that they would hesitate to treat Western Europeans and Americans in similar fashion?

X. Conquest of the Churches

TODAY all organized churches in captive Europe are not only isolated from the outside world; they are also occupied — by servitors of the Politburo. This conquest has conclusively demonstrated the Communists' ability to dominate every religious body in any country where a Red regime is established. No organized church — Christian, Jewish, Moslem or any other — can hope to escape being reduced to an instrument of Kremlin policy. No believers, however devoted and loyal, can escape the subversion of their religious organizations to Communist designs.

The Reds began their subtly planned war against the churches by taking over the small and impotent Protestant sects, the Jewish congregations and the Orthodox Churches in Rumania and Bulgaria. The scattered Protestant congregations, bereft of any common organization, presented little difficulty. And the Jews, already in tragic and defenseless plight, have been progressively deprived of their communal organizations until today in Poland, as an example, there remains only the Central Committee of Jews, which is completely controlled by Stalinists. Because their church was

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by far the most powerful, the Roman Catholics were the last to be attacked.

No Soviet conquest has been executed with more astuteness. The Communists pauperized the Catholic Church by confiscating its properties and sources of income; suppressed religious education or made it entirely dependent upon the Red State; seized thousands of priests and nuns, held them as hostages, and wrung harshly oppressive concessions as the price of their release. They enlisted the service of the weak, politically ambitious or corrupt priests as champions of co-operation with the Communist regime, and used them to found Moscow-style "Peace Movements" which all adherents of whatever faith were urged to support — to prove their opposition to war. The "patriotic priests," backed by terrorist pressures, won many waverers among the lower clergy, and the growth of this collaborationist element among the clergy split church organization wide open.

Eventually, the Communists installed "fellow-traveling" prelates in key bishoprics and in religious publications, and seized control of Catholic policy-making and administrative offices. Finally, the Red state appropriated the right to appoint all future bishops and canons. Those in office who resisted were arrested and replaced by clerical renegades.

By such tactics the three great traditional bastions of the faith — Hungary, Poland and Czechoslova-

kia, where Catholicism had been unchallenged since the Middle Ages — were progressively undermined, infiltrated and captured. The last organized ideological opponent inside the Iron Curtain was thus eliminated.

In the face of this gradual usurpation of church power, the great majority of bishops and priests, and millions of laymen have remained staunchly loyal — but utterly helpless. Their cruel plight underscores the fact that no church's freedom of worship and of conscience can conceivably escape destruction wherever Soviet Communism seizes power.

XI. Youth Communized

UNDER a Communist government what happens to your children? They are literally kidnaped by the Red State, subjected to incessant propaganda, in school and out, and systematically alienated from parental and religious controls. The Soviet's greatest secret weapon is the corruption of youth.

In October 1950 a Hungarian father was beaten so terribly by the AVO secret police that he was sent home on a stretcher. This was his third arrest for listening to Western broadcasts. But he had taken extreme precautions: how could they have found out? Beside his wife, no one had shared the secret but his 12-year-old son. Bandaged and crippled, the father asked the boy the awful question.

"You are an enemy of the people's democracy if you listen to the im-

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perialists' radio," his son replied coldly. "Of course I reported you. If you listen any more, I will report you again."

A Rumanian mother started to box her small boy's ears when he was arrogantly disobedient. "If you punish me," he shouted threateningly, "I'll tell our leader you are profiteering with food. We Young Pioneers are Stalin's children."

Seven million Eastern European young people under 21 are now enrolled either in Young Pioneer organizations (for children from six to 14) or the Communist Unions (for older adolescents). Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and all other youth groups are abolished. Thus the Red state holds an absolute monopoly on every form of organized youthful activity. It takes an almost fantastic parental authority to hold a child against such pressures.

In elementary school the Pioneers alone enjoy the group games, excursions and free movies, and can win and wear attractive badges. How can you persuade your children to go without such treats year after year, and regularly receive shockingly low marks in school, even though they do their homework scrupulously? "It's your fault, Mother. They only give good marks to those who belong to the Pioneers."

The Party steals virtually all the children's free time outside of school. Military training (which receives greatest emphasis of all, save for political indoctrination), hiking,

singing, distributing "Peace Movement" tracts — Red group leaders have alluring tasks for everyone, designed to make those who "don't belong" feel sadly out of things; designed, above all else, to keep children away from home all day. And on Sunday morning, by Party order, "free occupation" periods keep your child from attending church.

Hungary's Young Pioneers take a most dramatic initiation oath. Under impressively solemn circumstances they swear "in the presence of all my comrades, to fight with body and soul the battle of our people against the American imperialist assassins; and declare myself ready to defend, with my life if necessary, my happy Socialist homeland." Thus puppet-state children are offered knighthood in a new crusading order. How can any mother, prattling about "bourgeois" virtues, compete with this? How, especially, with only one or two hours of opportunity out of each 24?

Thus Eastern Europe's boys and girls are saturated with Stalinist ideology; saturated with class hatred, with readiness to fight against the free nations at a word from the Kremlin, with scorn for their parents' standards and "old-fashioned morality," with anti-religious sentiments, and with skillfully promoted convictions that they are nobly patriotic when they serve as spies and informers — against their parents and teachers, against resisting

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workers and farmers, against anyone the Party may designate.

But the Red state, in Barbara Ward's discerning phrase, also "fulfills, while it perverts, some of the best yearnings of youth." The Communists give young people real jobs and flattering responsibilities. An impressive series of "youth shops" has been operated exclusively by members of Poland's Youth Union (ZMP) in Bydgoszcz since 1950. Zealous teen-agers manage and staff 14 coöperatives, several bakery and clothing shops and the city's largest confectionery store. Their sense of importance is deliberately inflated by lavish praise in the Party press.

In scores of such activities the Reds assign youngsters of both sexes to hard jobs. Adolescent egos are played up to adroitly. Young people are given a rare and heady sense of participation, and praised for contributing to great, nation-wide programs.

Official posts in trade unions and Workers' Councils go to a surprising number of young members. In Polish mining unions 25 percent of the "trustees" are from the ZMP; in the textile industry ten percent — but Party organs denounce this as "too small." Young Communists are also pushed into executive jobs in municipal soviets; as group leaders, "educators" and propagandists; as junior bosses of tractor stations. Boys and girls under 21 are much less critical of Marxist innovations; much less concerned about obstacles, more scornful of old ways of doing

things, more blindly obedient — above all enthusiastic.

"Cops-and-robbers" is a wonderfully enticing game for the young of every race and clime, and the police state's masters exploit these susceptibilities to the utmost. What could be more thrilling than to become a real spy? So puppet-state Pioneers and Youth Union members are constantly mobilized as informers. Junior snoopers ransack peasant homes for hidden produce in thousands of rural centers in every Curtain country, vastly excited by the unprecedented authority. Acting as agents of Red terrorism is perverted into a notable "patriotic service."

In school, children are subjected to education which is 100 percent Soviet Russian. The teaching staffs have been repeatedly purged and sovietized until today the schools are completely Party-occupied. Textbooks are either translated from Russian textbooks or patterned after them. In geography books, following a Party directive, pictures are carefully selected "to show the oppression and misery of the working population" in capitalist countries. Science textbooks must "unmask the decadence of mathematics and physics" in the Western nations.

In their primers, satellite children learn to read from such sentences as "Joseph Stalin is the great leader of the Soviet Union. All those who work love him with untold love. Joseph Stalin is the best friend of children." And they memorize such poems as:

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By his mighty arm so hard
Stand the peoples, all on guard;
Masses singing, young and old,
Following our Stalin bold.

In later grades the children are given such examination questions as these (from Rumanian seventh-grade manuals): "Why is bourgeois democracy a false democracy? From what facts known to you can we see that the Soviet Union treats us as an equal? Why is the Soviet Union in the forefront of the struggle for peace? For what reason does the Soviet Union *not* pursue the subjugation and exploitation of any people, as do the imperialist states?"

The study of French begins with the Communist *Internationale* in French, after which come reading selections from such renowned French masters as Stalin, Lenin and Marx. History books denounce Eastern Europe's traditional national heroes as traitors, and portray all the truly great men, great ideas, great inventions and contributions to world progress as Russian. No books contradict this impression, for the works of all "bourgeois falsifiers" — i.e., Eastern Europe's most eminent historians — have been removed from the libraries.

From Hungary a student writes: "The Communist Party decides everything from a student's admission until he passes his final exams. Of course the Party decides on the basis of how 'reliable' the student is. Our colleges are regularly purged of children of the former middle class, intellectuals, etc. This program is

being carried out continuously and systematically, regardless of the results — which already are deplorable. The level of examinations has sunk unprecedentedly low. For those sponsored by the Party, exams are a mere formality. The only really important examinations are the political ones."

The resultant undermining of youth's intellectual and moral integrity is obvious. A Polish student, now in exile, asks bitterly: "Can you, who have never known it, understand what it means to live in a state of permanent opposition? Under such conditions it is better to compromise; to pretend that you believe in Communism."

But there is a substantial amount of extraordinarily courageous resistance among the teen-age portion of Eastern Europe's youth. Despite all Soviet efforts, the majority of farm-bred youth remains antagonistic to Communism. In addition, the hold of strongly religious families cannot be completely broken down, especially among older children. At a meeting of Rumania's Union of Working Youth (UMT) in February 1951, the head of its university section reported that 55,000 students "had been found guilty of hostility and indifference."

Nevertheless, one is compelled to estimate that the Stalinists have already captured, or seem assured of capturing, about 25 percent of all young people in the Iron-Curtain countries, a formidable percentage of tomorrow's ruling generation. If the

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Stalinists are able to transform most of these young people into convinced Communists during the next decade, they will be in a position to dominate all of Iron-Curtain Europe for at least another generation. The struggle for children's minds may well decide Eastern Europe's fate for this century.

XII. The Stakes in the Cold War

WE MUST all face up to the real meaning of Russia's cold war against the Western democracies. Even today most of us do not visualize the stakes clearly. We do not yet grasp that this is a struggle without quarter and without armistice. We do not perceive the size of the battlefield. The Kremlin's targets cover the globe.

Half the world's population, more than a billion persons, are vulnerable to Communist seduction either because of their nearness to Russia or their low standard of living. They constitute the overwhelming balance of power in tomorrow's world. They are Moscow's immediate target — and they must also be ours.

It is what these people *don't* know about life under Communist rule that makes them peculiarly vulnerable to false Communist promises. Who is going to tell them, if not us?

Stalinist lies must be unmasked for what they are. For the Stalinists in the puppet states have proved that they can win the tolerance of millions of well-intentioned non-Communists. The Stalinists, up to now, have been superior to the

Western democracies in waging the war of ideas. Until we employ equally effective organizations and techniques on an intensive world-wide scale we cannot even begin to hold our own. Until we outmatch the Soviets both in aggressiveness and skill we cannot hope to persuade the ultimately decisive legions in the world's ideological marketplace.

While all American information agencies were spending less than 200 million dollars in 1950, the Soviet Union and her satellites spent an estimated 1.4 billion. The Russians alone are credited with spending 840 million dollars on broadcasts, news services, films and financing of agitators; 48 million more to train propagandists; 40 million for books and pamphlets. The puppet-state regimes are estimated to have spent another 481 million. The Kremlin's world-wide efforts are thus eight to ten times greater in cost than those of the world's richest nation — and in personnel actively engaged, hundreds of times greater. As Anthony Leviero wrote in the *New York Times*, Washington policy makers have only belatedly become aware "*that the Soviet Union could win the world without itself engaging in war.*"

The Communists' conquest of satellite Europe is a final warning to the West: this is how Soviet Communism infiltrates and undermines; how it betrays and contaminates; how it dominates governments; how it enslaves and destroys people; how it perverts patriotism, family loyalty,

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personal integrity and morality; how it cripples minds and poisons hearts; how it harnesses all of a nation's human and material resources to the purposes of slave-state power. This is how Stalinism expands, conquers and perpetuates itself.

There remains but one question: *The matter of personal obligation — both mine and yours.*

I think both yours and mine are inescapable.

Either you stand with freedom — or you stand against it.

Either you defend the basic rights of free men — or you undermine them by your very indifference.

Those who shut their eyes to the crimes of the Soviet slave system are "unconscious" allies of the Kremlin. By their silence they serve as confederates of Communism, supporters of the mass enslavement of peoples. Because an immeasurable burden of proof of Stalinism's true

character is already on record, these silent allies are no longer pardonable. They are self-condemned.

In the final reckoning, all of us must be judged by our silence, by our indifference, by our acts of omission.

If you read such reports as this, and still find nothing to do for the free way of life — in your daily work, in whatever way you can best contribute — pray do not deceive yourself. For you will have taken your stand by default. You will stand among the parasites of the free nations — in the ranks of the "unconscious pro-Communists" — another valuable ally of Soviet enslavement.

This war of ideologies will continue throughout our lifetime. Already it is far advanced. We, as yet, are still far from winning it.

The chips are down.

The roll call is now.

FIRST PROOF STORY 5

Location BF-7